

ACTION

No Objection To Declassification in Full 2011/04/29 : LOC-HAK-233-7-16-8 25



Classification

Department of State
TELEGRAM

ORIGINATING POST:

STATE

MRN: 18114

TOSEC 10230

24 JAN 76 05 19

INCOMING

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BRUSSELS

IMMEDIATE

Press

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE 5065

BT

UNCLAS

STATE 018114 TOSEC 010230

FOR FUNSETH FROM S/PRS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: TRAVELING PRESS REPORTAGE, EVENING, JAN. 23

NO. 18

WIRES

AP (SCHWEID): SAID SECRETARY TOLD NATO MINISTERS FRIDAY THAT SOVIET UNION PROPOSED REDUCTION OF ABOUT 10 PER CENT IN TOTAL U.S. AND SOVIET STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS A MEANS OF BREAKING DEADLOCK IN NEGOTIATING NEW TREATY.

"FROM NATO HEADQUARTERS IN BRUSSELS HE WILL GO TO MADRID AND THE EXPECTED SIGNING SATURDAY OF AN AGREEMENT WITH SPAIN EXTENDING THE AMERICAN USE OF FOUR MILITARY BASES IN RETURN FOR 1.25 BILLION DOLLARS IN MOSTLY MILITARY AID OVER FIVE YEARS, HE WROTE.

"SEVERAL MINISTERS SAID KISSINGER'S REPORT ON HIS THREE-DAY MISSION TO MOSCOW GAVE THEM ENCOURAGEMENT AND THAT THE TWO SIDES APPEARED WILLING TO REACH AN AGREEMENT.

"KISSINGER SAID HE HAD MADE 'SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS' IN THE TALKS WITH SOVIET LEADER LEONID BREZHNEV AND FOREIGN MIN.

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ANDREI GROMYKO. HOWEVER, U.S. OFFICIALS ACKNOWLEDGED PRIVATELY THAT NO REAL BREAKTHROUGH WAS ACHIEVED. ... ONE OFFICIAL SAID KISSINGER MIGHT HAVE TO HAVE ONE OR TWO MORE TRIPS TO MOSCOW TO COMPLETE THE BASIC OUTLINE OF AN ACCORD, BUT THAT IF ALL WENT SMOOTHLY, BREZHNEV MIGHT VISIT WASHINGTON AS EARLY AS MAY TO SIGN THE TREATY WITH PRESIDENT FORD.

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INITIALS

"KISSINGER EVIDENTLY AS LESS SUCCESSFUL ON ANGOLA. HE REMINDED BREZHNEV THAT MASSIVE SOVIET MILITARY SHIPMENTS TO THE MPLA SERVED TO LESSEN SUPPORT FOR DETENTE AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. BUT HE MADE NO APPARENT HEADWAY TOWARD PERSUADING BREZHNEV TO HELP END THE 'WAR BY PROXY' BETWEEN MARXIST FORCES LED BY CUBANS AND PRO-WESTERN FORCES. ...AT A NEWS CONFERENCE, KISSINGER SAID: 'OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THE SOVIET LEADERS ARE INTERESTED IN CONTINUING THE DETENTE RELATIONSHIP AND IN STRENGTHENING IT. WE BELIEVE THAT THE NEGOTIATING WITH RESPECT TO STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS MADE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TOWARD THAT END. AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED OUR VIEWS THAT SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIONS IN ANGOLA ARE NOT HELPFUL TO THE DETENTE RELATIONSHIP. SO I WOULD HAVE TO CALL ATTENTION TO BOTH THE PLUSES AND THE MINUSES.'...."

REUTERS (NELSON): SAID SOVIET UNION HAS UNEXPECTEDLY PROPOSED CUT IN CEILING ON U.S. AND SOVIET STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES IN APPARENT ATTEMPT TO EXEMPT BACKFIRE FROM LIMITS ON STRATEGIC WEAPONS, SENIOR U.S. OFFICIAL SAID TODAY.

"ON THE OTHER HAND, NATO SOURCES SAID USSR TOLD U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER IT WAS REJECTING NATO'S OFFER TO WITHDRAW 1,200 NUCLEAR WEAPONS IF RUSSIANS PULLED OUT TANK ARMY IN EAST-WEST CUTBACKS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

"DURING SALT TALKS YESTERDAY, BREZHNEV PROPOSED TO DR. KISSINGER THAT THE TWO NATIONS LOWER CEILING OF 2,400 NUCLEAR MISSILES AND BOMBERS AGREED TO AT VLADIVOSTOK SUMMIT, OFFICIAL TOLD REPORTERS ABOARD U.S. AIR FORCE PLANE. ...

"THE COMPROMISE PROPOSED BY SOVIET UNION WAS UNDERSTOOD TO INVOLVE COMPLICATED FORMULA UNDER WHICH BACKFIRES WOULD NOT BE COUNTED IN CEILING, BUT CEILING WOULD BE LOWERED BY NUMBER EQUAL TO NUMBER OF BACKFIRES PUT INTO SERVICE.

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"SINCE RUSSIA IS DEPLOYING BACKFIRES AT RATE OF TWO A MONTH, SOME 240 WILL GO INTO SERVICE IN NEXT 10 YEARS AND, ACCORDING TO SOVIET PROPOSAL, WEAPONS CEILING WOULD BE REDUCED TO ABOUT 2,150 U.S. OFFICIALS SAID.

"THE END RESULT, HOWEVER, WOULD BE SAME AS RETAINING 2,400 LIMIT AND INCLUDING BACKFIRES IN IT, THEY SAID. ...

"A JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON TALKS CONFIRMED PROGRESS WAS MADE ON NUMBER OF QUESTIONS AND SAID 'NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE CONTINUING WITH THE AIM OF FINDING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS TO THE REMAINING PROBLEMS.'

"BUT U.S. OFFICIALS SAID MUCH WORK REMAINED TO BE DONE BEFORE ARMS PACKAGE COULD BE TURNED OVER FOR FINAL DRAFTING BY U.S. AND SOVIET TECHNICAL EXPERTS IN GENEVA.

"PRESIDENT FORD AND MR. BREZHNEV HAVE RESEATEDLY DELAYED SECOND SUMMIT MEETING UNTIL SALT AGREEMENT IS READY, AND THERE WAS NO SIGN TODAY IT WOULD BE READY SOON.

"THE DELAY APPEARED CERTAIN TO PUSH SUMMIT STILL FARTHER BACK, PROBABLY INTO HEAT OF CAMPAIGNING FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

"THE SENIOR U.S. OFFICIAL REPORTED ONLY MARGINAL PROGRESS IN DISCUSSIONS OVER ANGOLA, WHERE NUMBER OF SOVIET-SUPPORTED CUBAN TROOPS HAS INCREASED TO MORE THAN 10,000 DESPITE REPEATED U.S. APPEALS FOR WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES.

"IN ARMS TALKS, THE TWO COUNTRIES AGREED ON DEFINITION OF WHAT CONSTITUTES HEAVY MISSILE, THEREBY CLOSING LOOP-HOLE IN 1972 SALT AGREEMENT BANNING REPLACEMENT OF LIGHT MISSILES BY HEAVY ONES, U.S. OFFICIAL SAID.

"THE DEFINITION SETS VERY PRECISE UPPER LIMIT ON MISSILE SIZE, USING COMBINATION OF VOLUME AND THROW-WEIGHT OR DESTRUCTIVE FORCE. THE TWO SIDES ALSO REACHED VIRTUAL AGREEMENT ON A WAY TO INCLUDE AIR-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES IN CEILING OF 1,320 MIRVS AGREED TO AT VLADIVOSTOK. UNDER THIS AGREEMENT, EVERY BOMBER CARRYING LONG-RANGE, AIR-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES WOULD BE COUNTED IN 1,320 MIRV CEILING, WHICH IS INCLUDED IN 2,400 WEAPON LIMIT. ...

"(KISSINGER) SAID THE SOVIET UNION HAD GIVEN HIM REPLIES TO A U.S. PROPOSAL FOR FORCEREDUCTIONS IN EUROPE, BUT HE GAVE NO DETAILS."

TV

CBS EVENING NEWS (1ST ITEM IN PROGRAM):

CRONKITE: SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER HAS LEFT MOSCOW AFTER FAILING TO GET AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON A NEW STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATY. HE DID SAY, HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIETS PROPOSED SOME SIGNIFICANT AND CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS. BUT OTHER U.S. OFFICIALS SAID A LOT OF WORK REMAINS TO BE DONE. BERNA KALB REPORTS ON THE END OF KISSINGER'S KREMLIN TALKS:

KALB: THE MORNING AFTER, BOTH SIDES -- THE AMERICANS AND THE RUSSIANS -- SOUGHT TO PUT A POSITIVE INTERPRETATION ON THE JUST CONCLUDED SALT NEGOTIATIONS. TALKING WITH REPORTERS BEFORE THEIR FINAL MEETING, SEC. KISSINGER AND SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO EMPHASIZED THAT PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE EVEN THOUGH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION WERE UNABLE TO ACHIEVE A COMPLETE BREAKTHROUGH ON THE DEADLOCK OVER THE AMERICAN CRUISE MISSILE AND THE SOVIET BACKFIRE BOMBER. ON DEPARTING FROM MOSCOW THE SECRETARY REFERRED TO A NEW KREMLIN

KISSINGER: PROGRESS WAS MADE ON OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES AND THE SOVIET SIDE INTRODUCED SOME SIGNIFICANT AND CONSTRUCTIVE NEW IDEAS YESTERDAY WHICH I AM NOW TAKING BACK TO WASHINGTON FOR STUDY.

KALB: THESE NEW IDEAS WERE REVEALED IN PART TO REPORTERS ABOARD THE KISSINGER PLANE DURING THE FLIGHT FROM MOSCOW TO NATO HEADQUARTERS IN BRUSSELS. A SENIOR

OFFICIAL SAID THAT THE RUSSIAN PROPOSAL COULD LEAD TO A REDUCTION OF ABOUT TEN PER CENT IN THE 2400 NUCLEAR WEAPONS CEILING SET AT VLADIVOSTOK IN 1974. THE OFFICIAL ADDED THAT THE IDEA ORIGINATED WITH KISSINGER AND WAS AIMED AT BREAKING THE DEADLOCKED ISSUES. THE NATO COUNTRIES WERE BRIEFED BY THE SECRETARY ON THE MOSCOW TALKS. HE LATER TOLD REPORTERS THE RUSSIANS ARE INTERESTED IN PURSUING DETENTE, BUT THE PICTURE WASN'T ALL POSITIVE.

KISSINGER: AT THE SAME TIME WE HAVE REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED OUR VIEW THAT SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIONS IN ANGOLA ARE NOT HELPFUL TO THE DETENTE RELATIONSHIP SO I WOULD HAVE TO CALL ATTENTION TO BOTH THE PLUSSES AND THE MINUSES.

KALB: BUT THE MINUS OF ANGOLA HAS NOT STOPPED KISSINGER IN TRYING TO REACH A SALT AGREEMENT, AND HE PREDICTED
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THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT THIS YEAR IS POSSIBLE.

NBC'S CHANCELLOR: SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER REPORTED TODAY ON HIS LATEST ARMS CONTROL TALKS WITH THE RUSSIANS AND SAID HE THINKS IT'S POSSIBLE THAT ANOTHER AGREEMENT WITH THEM CAN BE NEGOTIATED THAT WILL RUN INTO 1985. FROM WHAT WE LEARN FROM THE KISSINGER PARTY WHICH IS NOW IN BRUSSELS, THE RUSSIANS HAVE OFFERED TO REDUCE THE CEILING ON THE NUMBER OF MISSILES AND BOMBERS ON BOTH SIDES IF WE WILL ACCEPT THEIR BACKFIRE BOMBER AS A WEAPON NOT RESTRICTED UNDER THE AGREEMENTS.

VALERIANI (FROM BRUSSELS): KISSINGER LEFT MOSCOW CARRYING SOME NEW AND UNEXPECTED SOVIET IDEAS ON HOW TO ACHIEVE ANOTHER ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT. THE RUSSIAN APPROACH INCLUDES THE HIGHLY CONDITIONAL POSSIBILITY OF A REDUCTION IN THE CEILING ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AGREED UPON BY PRESIDENT FORD AND SOVIET LEADER BREZHNEV AT VLADIVOSTOK IN 1974.

SECRETARY (AT MOSCOW AIRPORT): #DON'T YOU POINT AT ME."
(LAUGHTER)

VALERIANI: THE SECRETARY THEN CAME TO BRUSSELS TO REPORT TO AMERICA'S EUROPEAN ALLIES ON HIS TALKS IN MOSCOW. AT A NEWS CONFERENCE AT NATO HEADQUARTERS, HE GAVE THIS SUMMATION OF HIS THREE-DAY MISSION:

KISSINGER: A NUMBER OF ISSUES WERE RESOLVED AND WERE PASSED ON TO GENEVA FOR TECHNICAL IMPLEMENTATION. PROGRESS OF SOME SIGNIFICANCE WAS MADE ON OTHER ISSUES, AND SOME OTHER ISSUES STILL REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED.

QUESTION: IS IT POSSIBLE THAT THE NEW SOVIET PROPOSAL TO REDUCE THE VLADIVOSTOK CEILING MIGHT SERVE AS A WAY OF BREAKING THE DEADLOCK OVER THE CRUISE AND BACKFIRE BOMBER DILEMMA?

KISSINGER: I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE PROSPECT OF REDUCTION IS IN THE CONTEXT OF SEVERAL OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT AND IT MAY OR MAY NOT BE INCLUDED IN THE FINAL AGREEMENT.

VALERIANI: KISSINGER WILL NOW TAKE THE NEW SOVIET IDEAS BACK TO WASHINGTON FOR ANALYSIS AND STUDY, AND THE ADMINISTRATION WILL THEN FORMULATE COUNTER PROPOSALS. THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATING EXCHANGES IS LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE THROUGH REGULAR DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. BUT

ANOTHER KISSINGER/BREZHNEV MEETING MAY STILL BE NEEDED IN ORDER TO NAIL DOWN THE FINAL AGREEMENT.

CHANCELLOR: KISSINGER DISCUSSED ANGOLA WITH SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO AT THE END OF HIS VISIT, BUT HE GOT NO SATISFACTION FROM THE RUSSIANS, WHOSE CLIENTS IN ANGOLA, THE POPULAR MOVEMENT, ARE DEFEATING THE TWO FACTIONS BACKED BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST.

ABC'S SMITH: SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER LEFT MOSCOW AND LANDED IN BRUSSELS TODAY AFTER HIS TALKS WITH RUSSIAN LEADERS ON THE FUTURE OF STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION. HE DID NOT HAVE THE HOPED-FOR TREATY BLUEPRINT IN HIS POCKET, BUT HE MAINTAINS HE HAS NEW PROPOSALS WORTH CLOSE STUDY.

DUNSMORE (FROM BRUSSELS): KISSINGER IS HOLDING TO THE VIEW THAT, WHILE THE MOSCOW VISIT DID NOT RESULT IN A FULL AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION, THE TALKS RESULTED IN SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN A NUMBER OF AREAS. HIS MEETING IN MOSCOW THIS MORNING WITH GROMYKO WAS ESSENTIALLY A WRAP-UP. BUT CORRESPONDENTS TRAVELING WITH KISSINGER WERE TOLD THAT YESTERDAY THE RUSSIANS MADE A NEW AND SIGNIFICANT PROPOSAL. IN IT, THEY SUGGESTED THAT THE AGREED NUMBER OF 2400 STRATEGIC DELIVERY SYSTEMS PREVIOUSLY ESTABLISHED AT VLADIVOSTOK BE REDUCED, PERHAPS BY TEN PER CENT. THE PROPOSAL WAS PART OF A PACKAGE WHICH WAS DIFFERENT ENOUGH THAT IT WAS DECIDED TO BE TAKEN BACK TO WASHINGTON FOR FULL STUDY. KISSINGER'S BRUSSELS STOP WAS TO BRIEF NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS ON THE RESULTS OF HIS MOSCOW VISIT. THE MAIN ISSUE RESOLVED IN MOSCOW WAS AN IMPORTANT ONE -- NAMELY, THE PRECISE DEFINITION OF WHAT CONSTITUTES A HEAVY MISSILE. AND THIS CLEARS UP AMBIGUITIES OF THE FIRST SALT AGREEMENT. IN A NEWS CONFERENCE IN BRUSSELS,

KISSINGER WAS ASKED ABOUT THE IMPACT OF THE MOSCOW NEGOTIATIONS ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

SECRETARY: OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THE SOVIET LEADERS ARE INTERESTED IN CONTINUING THE DETENTE RELATIONSHIP AND TO STRENGTHEN IT. AND WE BELIEVE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH RESPECT TO STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS MADE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THAT EFFORT. AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED OUR VIEW THAT SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIONS IN ANGOLA ARE NOT HELPFUL TO THE DETENTE RELATIONSHIP.

DUNSMORE: IT CAN CERTAINLY BE SAID THAT THE MOSCOW NEGOTIATIONS FELL SHORT OF EXPECTATIONS. AT THE SAME

TIME, PROGRESS WAS MADE ON SOME VERY COMPLEX ISSUES, AND THE DEADLOCK ON THE U.S. CRUISE MISSILE AND THE RUSSIAN BACKFIRE BOMBER, IF NOT RESOLVED, HAS AT LEAST BEEN BROKEN. AND THAT FAMOUS SENIOR OFFICIAL ON KISSINGER'S PLANE TELLS US THAT A SALT AGREEMENT IS STILL VERY POSSIBLE BY MAY OR JUNE.

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